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of Conciliation, as proposed by the official drafts of Swiss, Dutch and Scandinavian experts and that of the German Government, neither without a world parliament and international guarantees for national minorities, as also proposed by the German draft. We recognize the realization of the Paris Covenant is already an advance. But we understand that this League of Nations is not universally accepted as a sufficiently strong safeguard to replace the traditional guarantees.

Therefore we, who have propagated President Wilson's principles from the very day they were promulgated, we appeal to all those who share these convictions, to strengthen their endeavors for the development of the Paris Covenant in democratic spirit.

Then all territorial problems can find a fair solution and the world will be saved from the chaos which is threatening the very foundations of our civilization, if the trust in President Wilson and his principles would get lost.

**Twenty-three wars**, according to the Chief of the British staff, are now actually in progress. We do not know what wars the British officer had in mind, but the *New York Times* figures them out as follows:

1, Great War, Allied Powers versus Central Powers; 2, Jugoslavia versus Austria; 3, Roumania versus Hungary and Bolsheviks; 4, Poland versus Ukraina; 5, Letts and Balts versus Bolsheviks; 6, Estonians versus Bolsheviks; 7, Deniken versus Bolsheviks; 8 Finns versus Russian Bolsheviks; 9, Allies versus Bolsheviks; 10, Kolchak versus Bolsheviks; 11, Persia versus Kurds; 12, Germans versus Bolsheviks; 13, Cossacks versus Bolsheviks; 14, Afghans versus British; 15, Siberians versus Bolsheviks; 16, Egyptians versus British; 17, Nicaragua versus Costa Rica; 18, Mexican Troubles; 19, Irish versus British; 20, Hedjas versus Bedouins; 21, Chinese Revolution; 22, Czechs versus Hungary; 23, Poland versus Bolsheviks.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**THE NEMESIS OF DEMOCRACY.** By *Ralph Adams Cram*. Marshall Jones Company, Boston. Pp. 58. \$1.00

A third printing of this iconoclastic essay indicates that it must make its appeal to a considerable constituency of sceptics who distrust democracy's influence on humanity, especially in its seeming or actual sterilizing effect. The thesis of the book is that as the basis of government becomes broader the number of outstanding leaders seems to or does diminish. This American champion of the Carlylean theory of the "great man" scheme of society is a New Englander, who is renowned as an architect, as a champion of Gothic architecture still suited for use in ecclesiastical and academic structures, and as a town-planner. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that he annually mourns the execution of Charles I of England, and that he belongs to the order of the faithful who keep alive the regret that the Stuarts passed from the British throne. Democratic grapes would hardly be expected to grow on such an autocratic thistle. Mr. Cram is candid enough to admit, in a postscript to this latest edition of his book, that he erred in his depreciation of Clemenceau; that in the King of the Belgians and in Marshal Joffre, Marshal Foch and General Pershing, men of action have loomed up who must be reckoned with. Indeed, he seems to find the only ray of hope for an aimless drifting world, in the men in high and low places who have fought with carnal weapons and made

military records. This is not surprising, for since 1914 he has been one of the fiercest of the Bostonian lusters for war with Germany. What Hillis, the preacher, and Beck, the lawyer, have been to their callings he has been among artists.

**BISMARCK.** By *C. Grant Robertson*, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Henry Holt & Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 512, with appendices and bibliography. \$2.25 net.

This latest contribution to the makers of the Nineteenth Century series, edited by Basil Williams, raises the average of the collection considerably; and it was high previously. Publication comes at "the psychological moment," to use a somewhat overworked phrase. Substantially completed prior to the war, it is not marred by marks of hate or passion. What was written has been allowed to stand. Occasionally, of course, a moral is pointed and the tale adorned by the grim facts of 1914-18, facts which show the logical sequence in the realm of morals as applied to statecraft, when "blood and iron" become the symbols of national life.

But, broadly speaking, the British scholar has been both shrewd and kind enough to let the reader make his own deductions in the realm of applied ethics. He, the biographer, has accumulated the facts, conjectured the motives, judged the deeds—open and secret—and contrasted the career of the "Iron Chancellor" with that of other statesmen of his time, leaving it to a defeated Germany and the victorious world beyond to decide just how far the man was responsible for the military and social debacle of the present hour. If Germany in 1890, as he contends, had placed Bismarck with Luther, Frederick the Great, and Goethe as her greatest figures since the Renaissance, will she continue so as a socialistic republic under bonds to keep the peace for an indefinite number of years?

The merit of this book is triple. It combines fullness and accuracy of information to a degree that would satisfy a Mommsen or a Freeman, with a style and readability that recall the art of Macaulay and Froude, and at the same time it is crowned by a judicial quality which none of them possessed. So blessed, the book comes at a most opportune time, for it is already apparent that with the signing of the peace treaty major and minor figures in German history are to blossom forth with books of reminiscence, exposure of policies of state under William II, and defence of their own or their fathers' careers. Many of these books will shed light on the last years of Bismarck's life, his responsibility for the war with France in 1870, his break with William II, and his lack of sympathy with the Pan-German scheme that finally drew Germany into aggressive madness. For all persons who wish to connect present and coming "literature of disclosure" with the sordid and secret past of Bismarck's tortuous reign, during which he toyed with Austrian, French, British and Italian foreign ministers, this volume will be useful. He died wishing no other epitaph on his tomb than one telling of his loyalty to William I, King of Prussia. If he had been equally loyal to humanity in general and to Germany as a whole, if he had had faith in democracy, if his God had been a universal Being and not a tribal Deity, the world would have been saved millions of lives, billions of wealth, and untold, indescribable anguish. He both symbolized and used titanic power while he lived; and as such an incarnation he used race pride, economic need, lust for territory, and Teutonic hate of the Gaul and the Briton, to rear a vast state structure, now shattered. Incidentally he brought upon his countrymen a final shame and world contempt; and it is going to be worth noting how raidily Germans who are Teutons will join with Maximilian Harden, the Jew with a conscience, in thus rating the demigod of yesterday. Surely neither the Socialists nor the Centrists now in the saddle are likely to pay reverence to the memory of the man who was their bitterest foe.

**WAR AND EDUCATION.** By *Andrew F. West*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. Pp. 87. \$1.00 net.

The dean of the Graduate School at Princeton University has long been an able, constant, unsparing critic of tend-

encies in national education symbolized by Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, tendencies which have overrated the value of early specialization in an intensive and to a considerable extent a vocational rather than a cultural theory of education. Dean West has lived long enough to see Harvard, under Lowell, re-act toward the older American ideal of a collegiate training with a broad cultural basis, in which process she is now sharing with many other colleges. Dean West also has lived to see a war with Germany fought by western civilization, in which the Teuton defeat has brought with it a searching analysis of the German theory of education and the relation between it and the national moral and military debacle. Using this opportunity shrewdly he has renewed his fight for a cultural rather than a utilitarian ideal in American post-war education; and this book brings together addresses by him given before important educational assemblies during the years 1918-1919. He also includes an address on "France and the Classics" delivered by M. La Ferre, Minister of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, at the University of Montpelier, in July, 1918. This book has to do with a profoundly important post-war problem facing all the nations, including Germany; and through it speaks a veteran protagonist of the "humanities."

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN.** By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*. The Macmillan Company, N. Y. City. Pp. 224. \$1.50.

This compact and relatively up-to-date book by a professor of history in Denison University, is brought out under the auspices of the Japan Society, though the author claims for his work that it in no wise has been influenced by the fact of this patronage. It still remains true, however, that the

volume is little more than a chronicle, and that on issues about which there is abundant chance to differ as to the wisdom or disinterestedness of Japan's course he is either evasive or only inoffensively critical. Persons wishing the facts of Japan's formal, superficial, economic, political and diplomatic evolution will be satisfied. Those investigators who want more than this must go elsewhere.

**ITALIAN SEA POWER IN THE GREAT WAR.** By *Archibald Hurd*. Constable & Co., Ltd., London. Robert H. McBride & Co., New York City. P. 124. 50 cents; postage extra.

This study of a phase of the war, written by one of Great Britain's leading authorities on naval power, its history and technique, combines an excellent historical narrative with an able essay in polemics calculated to support the claim of Italy to a larger share of naval responsibility for control of the Mediterranean and to political dominion of territory along the Adriatic, claim that both Great Britain and France may not care to concede and may have had in mind in shaping their attitude toward Italy during the Peace Conference's deliberations.

**TOWARDS NEW HORIZONS.** By *M. P. Willcocks*. John Lane Company, N. Y. City. Pp. 213. \$1.25 net.

In these charming, mystical yet practical, esthetically wrought but ethically motived essays by an Englishwoman of culture who also is a democrat of the most contemporaneous sort, one may get an insight into some of the war and post-war reactions on British society; and at the same time he will discover the workings of an acute mind on such perennial problems as "Art and the People," "Literature and Democracy" and "Science and Life."

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